MEMOIRS OF THE
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

631

No. 34

A NEW INSCRIPTION OF DARIUS FROM HAMADAN

BY
PROF. E. HERZFELD,
Honorary Correspondent of the Archæological Survey of India.

CALCUTTA: GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
CENTRAL PUBLICATION BRANCH
1928

Government of India Publications are obtainable from the Government of India Central Publication Branch, 3, Government Place, West, Calcutta, and from the following Agents :—

EUROPE.

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR INDIA,
42, GROSVENOR GARDENS, LONDON, S.W. 1.
And at all Booksellers.

INDIA AND CEYLON.

Provincial Book Depôts :

MADRAS :—Office of the Superintendent, Government Press, Mount Road, Madras.

BOMBAY :—Superintendent, Government Book Depôt, Town Hall, Bombay.

SIND :—Library attached to the Office of the Commissioner in Sind, Karachi.

BENGAL :—Office of the Bengal Secretariat Book Depôt, Writers' Buildings, Room No. 1, Ground Floor, Calcutta.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH :—Office of the Superintendent of Government Press, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Allahabad.

PUNJAB :—Office of the Superintendent, Government Printing, Punjab, Lahore.

BURMA :—Office of the Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, Rangoon.

CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR :—Superintendent, Government Printing, Central Provinces, Nagpur.

ASSAM :—Office of the Superintendent, Assam Secretariat Press, Shillong.

BIHAR AND ORISSA :—Office of the Superintendent, Government Printing, Bihar and Orissa, P. O. Gulzarbagh, Patna.

COORG :—Office of the Chief Commissioner of Coorg, Bangalore.

NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE :—Office of the Manager, Government Printing and Stationery, Peshawar.

Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta and Simla.
W. Newman & Co., Ltd., Calcutta.
R. Cambray & Co., Calcutta.
S. K. Lahiri & Co., Calcutta.
The Indian School Supply Depot, 309, Bow Bazar Street, Calcutta, and 226, Nawabpur, Dacca.
Butterworth & Co. (India), Ltd., Calcutta.
Rai M. C. Sarcar Bahadur & Sons, 90-2A, Harrison Road, Calcutta.
Standard Literature Company, Limited, Calcutta.
Association Press, Calcutta.
Chukervertty, Chatterjee & Co., Ltd., 13, College Square, Calcutta.
The Book Company, Calcutta.
James Murray & Co., 12, Government Place, Calcutta. (For Meteorological Publications only.)
Ray Chowdhury & Co., 68-5, Ashutosh Mukherji Road, Calcutta.
The Oriental Publishing House, 34, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.
Scientific Publishing Co., 9, Taltolla Lane, Calcutta.
B. C. Basak, Esq., Proprietor, Albert Library, Dacca.
Mittra Brothers, Rajshahi.
Higginbothams, Madras.
P. R. Rama Iyer & Co., Madras.
Rochouse and Sons, Madras.
G. A. Nateson & Co., Publishers, George Town, Madras.
Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.
Bright & Co., Trivandrum.
The Booklover's Resort, Taikad, Trivandrum, South India.
E. M. Gopalakrishna Kone, Pudumandapam, Madura.
Vijapur & Co., Vizagapatam.
Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay.
D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay.
Sunder Pandurang, Bombay.
Ram Chandra Govind & Sons, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay.
N. M. Tripathi & Co., Booksellers, Princess Street, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay.
Proprietor, New Kitabkhana, Poona.
The Manager, Oriental Book Supplying Agency, 15, Shukrawar, Poona City.
R. S. Gondhalekar's Book Depôt, Publisher and Bookseller, Budhwar Chowk, Poona City.
Managing Director, Co-operative Bookstall, Booksellers and Publishers, Poona City.
Rama Krishna Bros., opposite Vishrambag, Poona City.
Mangaldas & Sons, Booksellers and Publishers, Bhaga Talao, Surat.
Mrs. Radhabai Atmaram Sagoon, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay.
A. H. Wheeler & Co., Allahabad, Calcutta and Bombay.
R. B. Umadikar & Co., The Bharat Book Depôt, Dharwar.
The Standard Bookstall, Karachi, Quetta, Delhi, Murree and Rawalpindi.
The Karachi Book Depôt, Elphinstone Street, Camp, Karachi.
The Standard Bookstall, Quetta.
U. P. Malhotra & Co., Quetta.
J. Ray & Sons, 43, K. & L., Edwardes Road, Rawalpindi and Murree.
The Standard Book Depôt, Lahore, Nainital, Mussoorie, Dalhousie, Ambala Cantonment and Delhi.
N. B. Mathur, Supdt., Nazir Kanun Hind Press, Allahabad.
The North India Christian Tract and Book Society, 18, Clive Road, Allahabad.
Ram Dayal Agarwala, 184, Katra, Allahabad.
Manager, Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow.
The Upper India Publishing House, Ltd., 41, Aminabad Park, Lucknow.
Rai Sahib M. Gulab Singh & Sons, Mufid-i-Am Press, Lahore and Allahabad.
Rama Krishna & Sons, Booksellers, Anarkali, Lahore.
Puri Brothers, Booksellers and Publishers, Kutcheri Road, Lahore.
The Tilak School Bookshop, Lahore.
The Standard Book Stall, Lahore.
The Principal, Sanskrit Book Depôt, Saidmitha Street, Lahore.
The Punjab Religious Book Society, Lahore.
Manager of the Imperial Book Depôt, 63, Chandney Chawk Street, Delhi.
Oxford Book and Stationery Company, Delhi.
Supdt., American Baptist Mission Press, Rangoon.
Proprietor, Rangoon Times Press, Rangoon.
The Modern Publishing House, Ltd., 30, Phayre Street, Rangoon.
Burma Book Club, Ltd., Rangoon.
Manager, the "Hitavada," Nagpur.
Bhisey Brothers, Booksellers and Stationers, Sitabaldi, Nagpur.
S. C. Talukdar, Proprietor, Students & Co., Cooch Behar.
The Manager, Ceylon Observer, Colombo.
The Manager, The Indian Book Shop, Benares City.
The Srivilliputtur Co-operative Trading Union, Ltd., Srivilliputtur (Satur S. I. R.).
The Students' Emporium, Patna.
Raghunath Prasad & Sons, Patna City.
Dundekar Brothers, Indore City.
The Hyderabad Book Depôt, Chaderghat, Hyderabad (Deccan).

CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
Text of Cuneiform Inscription	1
Translation	1—2
Date of the inscription	2
Limits of the Empire of Darius	2
Three Indian Nations in the inscriptions of Darius	2—3
The Sakas in the inscriptions of Darius	3
The home of the Sakas and their divisions	3—4
Darius' expedition against the Sakas	4—5
Dress of the Sakas	5
The Six Satrapies of Darius in Iran	5
Herodotus on the Sakas and the evidence of the Hamadan inscription	6—7

A NEW INSCRIPTION OF DARIUS FROM HAMADAN

IN the town of Hamadan, there were discovered, a few years ago,[1] two documents of high historical importance, a gold and a silver tablet, 7½ inches square, inscribed on the one side only with a trilingual, cuneiform inscription of Darius I, hitherto unknown.

The text of the two tablets is identical and runs:—

OP.

(1) daryv^{h}uš . χšâyaϑiya . vzrk . χšâyϑiya . χšâyaϑiynam . χšâyaϑiya . dhy(2)uvnam . v^{i}ištasphya . puϑ^{r} . hχamni(3)šiy . ϑa^{h}tiy . daryv^{h}uš . χšâyaϑiya . im . χšaϑ^{r}m (4) . ty . adm . daryamiy . hča . skibiš . (5)tyiy . pr . sugdm . amt . yata . a . k^{u}uša . h(6)ča . hi^{n}duv . amt . yata . a . sprda . tyami(7)y . a^{h}urmzda . frabr . hy . mϑišt . bgan (8) am . mam . a^{h}urmzda . pat^{u}uv . utamiy . v^{i}iϑm .

Elam.

(1) ^{p}ta-ri-ya-v^{a}-o-^{i}š ^{p}čunkik ir-ša-ra ^{p}čunkik ^{p}čunki- p-na ^{p}čunkik ^{p}ta-a^{i}-hu-^{i}š-(2)-pe-na ^{p}vi-^{i}š-ta-as-pa ^{p}ša-ak-ri ^{p}ha-ka-man-ni-^{i}š-ši-ya (3) ^{p}ta-ri-ya-v^{a}-o-^{i}š ^{p}čunkik na-an-ri ^{p}čunki-^{u}m-me ap-po ^{p}u (4) mar-ri-ra ^{p}ša-ak-ka-pe ik-ki-mar ^{p}ak-ka-pe ^{p}šu-^{u}k-ta (5) mi-^{u}t-tu-ma ku-^{i}š ^{l}ku-ša-a^{i}-ya ^{l}hi-^{i}n-tu-^{i}š mar ku-^{i}š ^{l}š (6) -par-ta ap-po ^{d}o-ra-maš-ta ^{p}u tu-ni-^{i}š-ta ak-ka ir-ša-ra ^{d}na- (7) ap-pan-na ^{p}u ^{d}o-ra-maš-ta un ni-^{i}š-ke-^{i}š-ne ku-^{u}t-ta ^{l}UL. HI^{id}-mi

Bab.

(1) da-a-ri-ya-vuš šarru rabû-^{u} šarr šarrânî^{pl} šarr mâtâtê^{pl} (2) apa^{l} ^{p}uš-ta-as-pa ^{p}a-ḫa-ma-niš-ši-'a ^{p}da-a-ri-ya-vuš (3) šarru i-gab-bi šarru-u-tu a-ga-a-ta ša ana-ku aṣbat ul-la-X (4) ul-tu ^{mat}gi-mir-ri ša ni-bir-tum ^{mat}šu-ug-du (5) a-di-i ^{mat}ku-u-šu ul-tu ^{mat}in-du-u a-di-i (6) ^{mat}sa-par-da ša ^{d}a-ḫu-ra-ma-az-da-'a id-[dan-nu] (7) ša ra-bu-u al-la ilânî^{pl} ^{d}a-ḫu-ra-ma-az-[da-'a] (8) ana-ku li-iṣ-ṣur-an-ni it-ti ilânî^{pl} a-na bi[-ti-ya].

Transl.

"Darius, the great king, the king of kings, the king of countries, the son of Vishtâspa, the Achæmenid. (Thus) saith Darius the king: This

[1] These plates were, it is understood, first brought to notice by Dr. J. M. Unvala, Ph.D., who read a paper on them before the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute in Bombay on September 24th, 1926. [Ed.]

(is) the empire that I possess, from the Śaka who are beyond Sugd as far as the Kûsh, from the Hindû as far as Spardâ, which Ahuramazda has granted unto me, who is the greatest of gods. May Ahuramazda protect me and my house!"

I have shortly explained the historical, archæological, and philological importance of this inscription in the "Deutsche Literaturzeitung 1926, 42."[1] Here I want to draw attention only to a few facts pertinent to the ancient history of India.

But, first, a word about the date of the inscription. Darius took over the Achæmenid empire after the death of Cambyses in 521 B.C., in a state of complete disintegration. He restored it, as he repeatedly says in the Behistûn inscription, in the course of only one year. As far as we are now able to understand the history of that period, all the nine serious rebellions were crushed about the end of the year 520 B.C.

In the new inscription the king indicates the utmost limits of that empire, from N.-E., the Śaka or Scythia, to S.-W., the Kûsh or Aethiopia, and from S.-E., the Hindû or Sind, to N.-W., Sparda or the satrapy of Sardis. This last point clearly shows that the inscription must be older than the famous expedition against the Balkan and European Scyths. The date of this expedition is not exactly established, but it must have been commenced by the year 515 B.C. Hence, our inscription is dated between the narrow limits of 520 and 515 B.C. The Behistûn inscription, naturally, must have been executed immediately after the suppression of the rebellions, say in the course of the year 519 B.C. Accordingly, in the list of the lands that form part of the empire at that moment, we find in that inscription, two Indian nations, the Gandâra and the Thatagush, but the Hindû, Sind, are missing. The conquest of India was later than the Behistûn inscription. We know that Darius passed the year 517 in Egypt, and that this and the following year saw the establishment of Persian rule in other African countries. Since the new inscription, as well as the foundation inscription of the terrace of Persepolis, both mention the Hindû, but not yet the European Scyths, and since the years 517 to 515 are fully occupied, the conquest of Sind is limited to the years 519 and 518. There are two facts that link together the conquest of Sind and the expedition to Egypt: the exploration of the Indus river and the Persian coast by the admiral Skylax of Karyanda, and the opening of the Suez Canal by Darius: the great king wished to open new roads for the trade of his world-wide empire. Consequently, our inscription, as it mentions the Hindû but not the European Scyths, is dated between the end of 518 and that of 515; and the inscription of the terrace of Persepolis, which is in accord with the new inscription, but mentions Egypt, is probably to be fixed in the year 516 B.C.

The inscription of the tomb of Darius at Naqsh-i-Rustam must have been executed approximately about the time of his death, in 486-5. Among its sculptures and among several other sculptures at Persepolis, we find the repre-

[1] *Vide* also *J. R. A. S.*, 1926, pp. 433-6, and 1927, p. 101.

sentation of the three nations that I have called "Indian." All the three are identical: they are naked but for a loin cloth and a sort of turban on their heads, and their weapon is a long, broad sword, hanging by a strap from the shoulder. As a matter of fact, the climate of the plateau of Eastern Iran does not permit, and never permitted so primitive a clothing: these three nations were inhabitants of the lowlands of India. The habitat of the Gandâra is well known: the valley of the Kabul river to its junction with the Indus as well as the Swat region and the country around Taxila. The Hindû are not less exactly fixed; they are the people of Sind, Indian *s* corresponding to Persian *h*. There remain the Thatagush. Their name is written in OP. *θatagus̆*, in Bab. *sattagû*, in Elam. *sottakus̆*. Herodotus, the only occidental author who mentions them, has Σατταγύδαι. The υ represents short *u*, and if we are allowed to consider the reduplication of the *t* in the foreign renderings of the name (OP. does not express reduplication in script) as of no importance, and the δ in the Greek form of the name as a Greek substitution, the OP. word would signify "having hundred heads of cattle." But the name is Indian as well as Persian, with the same meaning: *śatagav-* and, as all the foreign renderings have the *s* in the beginning, we may consider the θ of the OP. form as an Iranization of the originally Indian name. The Gandâra country and Sind being occupied, we are compelled to localize the Śatagush between them, in the Panjâb. Sind is the new conquest of Darius, but Gandâra and Śatagush are mentioned by him as forming part of the empire as he inherited it, and, therefore, belong already to the conquests of Cyrus the Great. The Panjâb, hence, was Persian from the middle of the VIth century onward.

The three inscriptions, Behistûn, Hamadân and Persepolis, agree in naming only one nation Saka. And the very remarkable new fact in our inscription is, that it exactly fixes the habitat of these Saka: "beyond Soghd." The expression is a counterpart of the Gr. *Transoxiana*, and Arab *Mâ warâ-n-nahr* "beyond the river," *i.e.*, the Oxus or Amu Darya. But "para-Sugdam" is still further: the capital of Soghd is, and has always been Samarkand. The plains on both banks of the Oxus or Amu Darya are Balkh, and the old Achæmenian satrapy of Bactria or Balkh included Sogdiana or Soghd, *i.e.*, the fertile valley of the Zarafshan river as far as the banks of the Syr Darya or Jaxartes. Para-Sugda could be translated by *Transiaxartiana*, and signifies the vast plains of the Syr-Darya, of which the modern capital is the town of Turkestan, and in which are situated Tashkend, in the centre, Khokand and Uzkend in the upper part. The upper part of the valley still retains its very old name Farghâna.

The inhabitants of this part of the world, the Saka, were, like the Gandâra and Śatagush, not newly conquered by Darius, but inherited by him with the empire, and belong to the conquests of Cyrus the Great. Somewhere in the Farghâna region he had founded the town of Kyreschate, and in the same region we must look for the "farthest Alexandria" *Alexandreschate*. All this becomes perfectly clear, once we know the exact home of the Saka.

Fresh light, too, is thrown on the quotation from Hellanicus, handed down to us by Stephan of Byzanz, 'Αμύργιον πεδίον Σακῶν "the Amyrgian plain of the Saka," *viz.*, the plains of the Jaxartes.

The later inscription on the tomb of Darius, which reflects the changes in the extent of his empire and in the organization of its administration, also divides the single Saka people into two nations or tribes, distinguished by appositions, *viz.*, (1) the *Saka tigrakhaudâ*, (2) the *Saka Haumavarkâ*. It mentions, at the same time, the European Scyths under the name *Saka taradrâya*, the "Saka beyond the Sea," *viz.*, the Black Sea. In the well-known list of satrapies, Herodotus mentions only one of these two Sakas of the tomb-inscription, namely, the *tigrakhaudâ*, under the name 'Ορθοκορυβάντιοι. This is the Greek rendering of *tigrakhaudâ* meaning "with pointed caps," the Bab. version translating the name by *ša karballâtêšunu rapâ*, "whose caps are pointed," *karballâtê*, being the plural to a singular **karbaštu*, itself a loan-word, apparently from the OP. In the Greek name ὀρθο replaces OP. *arda-* "high," instead of *tigra-* "pointed," and κορυβαντ- is but an assimilation to Gr. κορυβάντιοι of the same OP. word which furnished Bab. **karbaštu*, and Gr. κυρβασία or cock's-comb. This is a most fitting expression for that kind of cap, if its point hangs down, as the sculptures show. In the description of Xerxes' army, Herodotus speaks of the Σάκαι who wear "stiff caps rising to a point," and he adds "these that are Scythians, the Persians call 'Αμύργιοι Σάκαι." This phrase clearly shows that he did not distinguish between the Tigrakhaudâ (or his Orthokorybantii) and the Haumavarkâ (or Amyrgii). To him, or to the document he used in the description of the army, they are both identical, just as the OP. inscription of Naqsh-i-Rustam simply adds two distinguishing epithets to the single name *Saka* of the other three inscriptions. When Herodotus also says "for the Persians call all the Scythians Saka," he is quite right. The name Scyth is a Greek designation only. The Greeks called all the Saka after the name of the first Saka tribe that entered their horizon at a very early period, *viz.*, that tribe which the Assyrians call *Iškuzai* and the Bible **Iškûz* (the emendated reading of orig. *Ashkenâz*, and which in Greek became Σκύθαι. The Greek θ in comparison with Assyr. and Hebr. *z*, makes it clear that in the OP. name there was a *č*, and we must derive from the two renderings the original name of that Saka tribe **Skûča*. Another example of Gr. θ for OP. *č* we shall meet with anon.

Section 74 of the Behistûn inscription, a later addition to the origina text, speaks of an expedition by Darius against the Saka. The mutilated paragraph mentions the Tigris, then the sea, the crossing of water, and the capture of a chief Skunkha. It has been long a matter of discussion whether this expedition referred to Darius' campaign against the European Scyths or not. A strong argument against the identification has always been the circumstance that the chief Skunkha, in the sculptures, is represented with a tremendous stiff and pointed cap: the prototype of a Saka Tigrakhaudâ. This conclusion does not, however, hold good. The European Scyths,

as represented on the tomb of Darius and on some of the Persepolitan sculptures, wear exactly the same pointed cap as the Tigrakhaudâ do. I feel convinced, therefore, that Section 74 refers to the famous expedition to Europe.

The dress of all those Saka tribes is one and the same. They wear a long overcoat, cut exactly like a modern morning dress, lined with fur, long and rather wide trousers with coverings for the feet made of the same piece of stuff, and a cap with protecting ear and cheek pieces, extremely pointed in the case of the European and Tigrakhaudâ Saka, much less in the case of the Haumavarkâ. When the point hangs over, it resembles a cock's-comb. Their weapon is in all three cases a large dagger, suspended in a sheath by straps from the waist, of the same type as the marvellous gold sheath among the objects of the Oxus treasure in the British Museum. This Scythian dress of circ. 500 B.C. was one specially fitted for a very cold country. The dress worn by the Khwârazmians and Sogdians is very similar to it. The similarity of the dress of the three Saka tribes points clearly to the contiguity of their lands, as the dress of the Ganďâra, Śatagush and Hindû does, as well as that of the Khwârazmians and Sogdians.

A careful study of the Achæmenid inscriptions reveals the fact that at the beginning of Darius' reign, Iran proper and the eastern parts were divided into a small number of vast satrapies only. We have (1) Media comprising Assyria proper and Armenia, *i.e.*, the entire old Median empire; (2) Pârs, including Kirmân and Lâristân and perhaps Isfahân; (3) Parthava, including Hyrcania, Marw, Herât, mod. Kûhistân and Sîstân; (4) Arachosia, comprising all the lands south of the Hindukush except the Makrân coast; (5) Bactria with Sogdiana; and lastly (6) Khwârizm. This is beyond doubt, and it is proved by the inscription, for, after relating what had been done in Marw, Darius says: "this is what has been done in Parthava." Hence, Marw belonged to Parthava; just as, after the execution of the Sagartian rebel at Arbela, the king says: "this is what has been done in Media," from which it may be inferred that Assyria proper belonged to Media, etc. The changes during the reign of Darius are, as far as we can ascertain, only the separation of Kirmân from Pârs, and the joining of Sîstân (old Zrang) with Arachosia (Harahᵛati). I may mention here, in parenthesis, that the name *Harahᵛati* of the inscriptions (Ind. *Sarasvatî*) is replaced in Herodotus' lists (*i.e.*, in material taken from Persian sources) by Θαμαναῖοι (Her. III 93), probably identical with Θωμάνιοι (III, 117).

The first is the geographical name of the country, the other is the ethnographical one. Exactly the same duplication has caused so much uncertainty regarding the almost mythical, primitive home of the Iranians, *Êrânvêj*. It is the ethnographical name, meaning "the vast plains of the Aryans," and replaces in the religious literature the geographical, official name *Khwârizm*, meaning "the land rich in nourishment." The ethnographical name of Arachosia, Θαμαναῖοι, in which, once more, Gr. θ stands for OP. č, survives to the present day in the name of the district Chaman, near Kandahar;

Gundofarreia, the old capital of Arachosia, took the form of *Rakhvat* in Pahlavi, and of *ar-Rukhkhaj* in Arabic.

Herodotus mentions the Saka "that wore stiff caps rising to a point," as identical with the Amyrgian Saka in his description of the famous review of Xerxes' army at Doriscus, the "catalogue of troops," and the Orthokorybantii, together with the παρικάνιοι as belonging to one and the same satrapy, in his list of Persian satrapies. At both places Herodotus made use of written sources, and of the best ones, the description of the army going back to the notes of an eye-witness, the list of satrapies to a Persian document translated into Greek, but rearranged. The deficiencies of that list of satrapies have long since been recognized, but seldom, if ever, have the necessary consequences been drawn therefrom. First: the satrapies of Iran are not distinguished by the same numbers as Herodotus gives them. The Persian original began, there is no question, exactly as the list of the inscriptions does with Pârs, Media and Susiana. Herodotus' list, on the other hand, began with Ionia. That change in the original order of the document, already undertaken by the literary predecessor of Herodotus, has been the main reason of its mutilation. Then, we may recognize, from the two different formulæ used in the list, that the authority drawn on by Herodotus had filled up the gaps in his original from a second document: and, lastly, Herodotus may have added or left out some points from his own knowledge of the matter. The whole problem is too complicated to be dealt with here. It is enough to insist upon the fact, that neither the Orthokorybantii, nor the Amyrgii and Parikanii, ever belonged to the satrapy of Media, *i.e.*, Herodotus' VIIth satrapy. Media was the IInd satrapy, but neither are the Median tribes, known to Herodotus in his description of Media, found in the official OP. document; nor does Herodotus in his description of Media say anything about the Saka there. But the fact that they appeared in that OP. document proves that they were not only tributaries, but formed a satrapy and an integral part of the empire. Where that satrapy was, is revealed by the Hamadan inscription, it was "para-Sugdam," *i.e.*, Transiaxartiana, or modern Farghâna. Hence, the Paricanii of Herodotus are quite in their place: the intervening form of the name, between the OP. and the modern form, is found in the Bundehishn (Ir. Bd. fol. 45 ult.), written Parkân, equivalent to the Farghâna of the early Arab authors.

There were, no doubt, other Saka tribes, beside the European Scyths, the Tigrakhaudâ, Haumavarkâ and Paricanii, although the OP. inscriptions mention only two in the East, and one in the West, and although the document that was the original source of Herodotus' list also mentions but three tribes. We know, *e.g.*, of the Massagetæ, the Alani, the Dahæ, the Parni, etc. But we have no right to assume that any of the Saka tribes were dwelling in a region south of a line that connects, approximately at the 42nd or 43rd degree of latitude, the Aral and the Caspian Seas. For, Khwârizm was a satrapy inhabited by a different nation, and Hyrcania formed part of the satrapy of Parthava, still more distinct from the Saka. But the vast extent of lands from the mouth of the Danube, over southern Russia, the northern

part of the Caspian, of the Aral and the Jaxartes plains were inhabited by Saka.

And that is exactly the region where they were met with later on by Alexander the Great, and where the first Chinese Authorities refer to them as living about the middle of the second century B.C., shortly before they begin their wanderings, which brought the same Tigrakhaudâ and Haumavarkâ from Farghâna down to the S.-E. of the Iranian plateau. There, the modern name of the small province of Sîstân, the Achæmenian Zrang, still conserving the old name Zrang officially in the Sasanian inscription of Persepolis, dated in the year 48 of Shâhpuhr II, *i.e.*, 357 A.D., is but a remnant of the name of the large empire that the Saka founded, and which extended from Sîstân as far as Mâlwâ and close to the port of Bombay, the Sakastâna of the Mathurâ Lion-capital inscription.

INDEX.

PAGE.

Achæmenid, designation of the family of Darius **34,** 1
Ahuramazda **34,** 2
Alani, a tribe **34,** 6
Alexander the Great **34,** 7
Alexandreschate, 'farthest Alexandria' **34,** 3
Amu Darya (Oxus) **34,** 3
Amyrgii, a tribe **34,** 4, 6
'Amyrgian plain of the Saka' **34,** 4, 6
Arachosia **34,** 5, 6
Ar-Rukhkhaj, capital of Arachosia **34,** 6
Bactria **34,** 3, 5
Balkan Scyths **34,** 2
Behistûn inscription of Darius I **34,** 2, 3, 4
Cambyses **34,** 2
Cyrus the Great **34,** 3
Dahæ, a tribe **34,** 6
Darius I: **34,** 1, 2, 3, 4, 5
— Limits of his empire **34,** 2
— Expedition against the Sakas **34,** 2, 4
— Expedition to Egypt **34,** 2
— Conquest of Sind **34,** 2
— Chronology of his inscriptions **34,** 2
European Scyths **34,** 2, 4
Êrânvêj **34,** 5
Farghâna **34,** 3, 6, 7
Gandâra, an Indian nation mentioned in Darius' inscription **34,** 2, 3, 5
Gundofarreia, capital of Arachosia **34,** 6
Hamadan inscription of Darius I—text **34,** 1
— Translation . . . . **34,** 1—2
— Date **34,** 2
Harahᵛati (*Sarasvatî*) **34,** 5
Haumavarkâ, a Saka tribe **34,** 4, 5, 6, 7
Hellanicus, quotation from **34,** 4
Herodotus, his description of the Sakai or Sakas **34,** 4, 6
Hindû (Sind) **34,** 2, 5
Hyrcania **34,** 5, 6
Indian nations, mentioned in Darius' inscriptions **34,** 2
Iran, divisions of **34,** 5, 6
Iśkûz, Biblical name for a tribe (Saka) **34,** 4
Iśkuzai, Assyrian name for a tribe (Saka) **34,** 4
Khwârizm, name of a Satrapy **34,** 5, 6
Khwârazmians, dress of **34,** 5
Kirmân **34,** 5

PAGE.
Kûsh (Aethiopia) **34**, 2
Kyreschate, town of **34**, 3
Massagetæ, a tribe **34**, 6
Mâ warâ-n-nahr, 'beyond the river' **34**, 3
Media **34**, 5, 6
Naqsh-i-Rustam inscription of Darius I **34**, 2, 4
Orthokorybantii, name of a tribe **34**, 4, 6
Para-Sugda (Transiaxartiana), modern Farghâna **34**, 3, 6
Parikanii, a Saka tribe **34**, 6
Parkan (Parikanii=Farghâna) **34**, 6
Parni, a tribe **34**, 6
Pârs **34**, 5, 6
Parthava **34**, 5, 6
Persepolis, sculptural representation of 'Indians' at . . . . **34**, 2—3
— Inscription of Darius at **34**, 2, 3
Rakhvat, capital of Arachosia **34**, 6
Sakas **34**, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7
— Habitat mentioned in the Hamadan inscription **34**, 2, 3
— Two tribes **34**, 4
— Expedition against them **34**, 4
— Dress of **34**, 5
— Mentioned in Darius' Behistûn and Persepolis inscriptions **34**, 3
— Mentioned by Herodotus **34**, 4, 6
— Met by Alexander **34**, 7
Saka Haumavarkâ **34**, 4, 5
Saka taradrâya, 'The Saka beyond the Sea' **34**, 4
Saka tigrakhaudâ, 'the Sakas with pointed caps' **34**, 4, 5
Sakai (Sakas) **34**, 4
Sakastâna **34**, 7
Samarkand, capital of Soghd **34**, 3
Scythia (Saka) **34**, 2
Shâhpuhr II, inscription of **34**, 7
Sind, conquest of **34**, 2
— Same as 'Hindû' of Darius' inscription **34**, 3
Sîstân **34**, 5, 7
Skythai (Sakas) **34**, 4
Sogdians, dress of **34**, 5
Soghd (Sogdiana) **34**, 3
Skunkha, a chief captured by Darius **34**, 4
Skylax of Karyanda **34**, 2
Spardâ, Satrapy of Sardis **34**, 2
Stephan of Byzanz **34**, 4
Sugd (see 'Soghd') **34**, 2
Syr Darya (Jaxartes) **34**, 3
Thatagush (Śatagush), an Indian nation, mentioned in Darius' inscription . . . **34**, 2, 3, 5
— Localization of **34**, 3

PAGE.

Tigrakhaudâ, a Saka tribe 34, 4, 5, 6, 7
Transiaxartiana (Para-Sugda), modern Farghâna 34, 3, 6
Transoxiana 34, 3
Vishtâspa, the Achæmenid 34, 1
Zarafshan river 34, 3
Zrang, old name of Sîstân 34, 5, 7

MGIPC—M—X-3-1—7 4-28—500.